

THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

'Troop pullout' warning lights debate on Nato burden-sharing

The warning shot from Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns' flare gun, loaded in the White House and fired in the presence of the Washington press corps, had the expected effect in Europe. It was dismissed as a mistake, a misunderstanding or an exaggeration by the American press, but it was nonetheless an alarming warning coming from the veteran Dutch Nato official in Brussels.

From now on, reports from Washington quoted Luns as saying, Europeans must come to terms with the idea of "troop withdrawals" by the US from Europe in the event of an acute crisis outside Nato's theatre of action.

On his return to Europe Mr Luns amended his statement to read "forces withdrawals" rather than "troop withdrawals." This subtle distinction did little to clarify matters.

It was so subtle that few people could make out any difference, so he explained that what he meant was that US naval units might be withdrawn from the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

They would be redirected to the Indian Ocean to establish a US counterweight to the Red Fleet off the Persian Gulf and along maritime routes.

This was the signal for a general, non-committal debate on future Nato policy as a whole. Which armed forces might the United States pull out of the Nato theatre?

The assumption was, of course, that at some future date there would be an East-West confrontation between the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea or along the tanker routes across the oceans.

But the entire debate resurrected the old issue of burden-sharing by America and Europe within Nato.

It is also relevant not only to US naval vessels and equipment stockpiled in Europe but also to the entire range of options for the reinforcement of US forces in the short term on the Continent.

In other words, it effects Nato's entire Riformer programme as envisaged in the event of an emergency.

The Riformer effort is planned to double US army manpower in Europe and treble within less than three weeks the number of US combat aircraft in Europe.

It was the long-term pride and glory of the long-range defence programme for the next 10 to 15 years solemnly adopted at the Washington Nato summit two years ago.

Were this plan now to be revised to the detriment of Western Europe's defences or made subject to other crisis requirements the United States might have, the Nato reinforcement plan would forfeit much of its mainstay function.

That was why Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel on the eve of the Brussels Nato summit was quick to note, in connection with the special gathering of European Nato members, that the 1978 programme remained the "guideline" for joint planning.

But he was unable to say to what extent the Americans might, given the necessity, fall to the line so as to be able to deploy their scant expeditionary reserve outside Europe.



On 14 April the mind behind the entire programme in Washington, Robert Komer, a former ambassador who is now under-secretary for alliance affairs at the Pentagon, made an important statement to members of Nato's defence planning committee in Brussels.

He said that in the event of a confrontation outside Europe units earmarked as reinforcements for US forces in Europe might be deployed outside the Nato theatre to ensure swift deployment of US fighting strength in a crisis area.

The Americans are further away than the Russians from both the Middle East and South-West Asia, so they have less time to waste.

So if the US divisions and USAF squadrons were flown not to Europe but to the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Peninsula, they would have to be replaced in Europe by European substitutes.

To do this the European members of Nato would need to mobilise their own reserves faster than either envisaged or currently possible.

This is something US Defence Secretaries have been calling for consistently for the past 15 years, seriously starting in 1965 when American sent troops into Vietnam.

But the Russian invasion of Afghanistan has brought about a new situation. It could at any time lead to a swift and general risk of war.

It would only need Soviet troops to invade Iran to close in on the Iranian coastline of the Persian Gulf or for the Red Fleet to try and blockade sea links with the West.

Neither eventuality is regarded as at all probable any longer at Nato headquarters in Brussels — any more than is a Soviet bid to break a US naval blockade of Iran.

But Nato depends on oil from the Persian Gulf and Europe at least will remain dependent for some time to come, so preparations must be made for contingencies of this kind.

What is more, from 1983 or 1984 the Soviet Union is expected to be importing oil from the Gulf, competing with the West for the oil that is marketed.

Starting this year, oil output in the Middle East is unlikely to be further increased, whereas all estimates indicate that Western demand will continue to increase steadily.

The Nato conference in Brussels dealt not only with adjusting the pact's defence planning to the changing international situation and with new prospects of insecurity in the 80s.

It was also intended as a political demonstration to warn off Moscow from embarking on new ventures beyond the bounds of the current Soviet sphere of influence.

The joint session of Nato Foreign and Defence Ministers was called to signal a response to the occupation of Afghanistan by the Red Army.

The East bloc was to be reminded that although the North Atlantic pact might be happy to pursue détente and ready to negotiate, Nato was also able to

fight if the Russians were to reach out for the Persian Gulf oil.

Joseph Luns conferred with President Carter on Nato policy the week before the Brussels summit and sought to reaffirm and reiterate in the Belgian capital past warnings by the US President that any such bid would mean war and nuclear escalation.

Mr Luns sounded convinced the Russians had got the message and would in all probability exercise greater restraint in future so as not to throw the gauntlet at the West.

But this expectation is shrouded in a twilight of ambiguity. Since January Nato has cut anything but an impressive figure in the world.

The malaise in relations between America and Western Europe has grown increasingly apparent with increasing talk of solidarity and burden-sharing, division of labour and consultation.

US Defence Secretary Harold Brown went well beyond his powers in discussions before flying across the Atlantic to Brussels.

He called on other Nato members not only to step up their military contributions but also to lend America greater diplomatic and political support.

He demanded Western European economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. This is a practical move the industrialised countries of Western Europe are particularly reluctant to make.

They are more dependent on exports and trouble-free foreign ties than the United States and also in a difficult economic situation.

Even a message of goodwill such as that delivered by Mr Carter's new Secretary of State, Edmund Muskie, to Europe could not be expected to do more than alleviate the crisis of confidence among the Nato allies. European governments look in both directions at once, to Washington and to Moscow, and all were hoping Mr Muskie's encounter with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Vienna would lead to a resumption of the détente and arms control debate between the superpowers.

Talks on these issues had been abandoned by President Carter in January, but no-one was seriously expecting the Red Army to withdraw from Afghanistan, say, in the near future.

The Nine's proposals for a political arrangement by which Afghanistan's non-aligned status would be restored and guaranteed have likewise failed to make any headway so far.

A number of governments claim to have received signals from Moscow that the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate but the situation itself has not changed in the least.

The most serious issue affecting East-West ties in Europe as far as Nato was concerned led to the brusque Soviet response to the Nato decision to re-equip with modern medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

There are grounds for hope that the Soviet demand for the withdrawal of the December 1979 Brussels Nato decision has, at least, been slightly scaled down in tenor.

But the prospects of negotiations are as unclear as the political readiness of the Western European countries to allow the new generation of US medium-range

missiles to be stationed on their soil when it is finally developed.

The possibility of a freeze in the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles by both sides remains more non-committal hypothesis.

It will remain so at least until Chancellor Schmidt, whose idea it was, aired the proposal in direct talks with President Brezhnev in Moscow.

In the meantime the smaller Western European countries are unlikely to be more enthusiastic about the proposal after 18 months or two years of talks with the Russians (always assuming, of course, that the new missiles are stationed on their territory).

No security and a somewhat bored bid to take a combined stand the East (without exacerbating the tension) were characteristic of the cost of Nato in spring 1980.

Yet a demonstration of political confidence was supposed to make an impression on the world, whereas the insecurity came to light even before the conference began in the differing pretensions placed in the Ministerial ring.

While Americans referred to the political significance of the special summit on 14 May as an event and an indicator of Nato's ability to respond, European Nato delegations in Brussels more cautiously referred to a mere routine session.

Diplomatic agreement between the allies on either side of the Atlantic, lacking in intellectual and temperance, in fact, none of the local issues such as educational reforms, etc. had any effect on the outcome.

And what about the riots in Bremen? The electorate ignored them and they, too, were swept away by the tide.

The election was dominated by the one and only issue: the Chancellor's policy and the jeopardy in which it is placed by Strauss. In fact, the North Rhine-Westphalia polling turned into a Schmidt election.

For the first time in its history, North Rhine-Westphalia's SPD performed better than in national elections — a phenomenon at odds with all previous experience, which shows that the Chancellor's party usually has a hard time rallying support in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Exactly the opposite happened this time. Followers of the conservative opposition stayed away from the polling booths while highly motivated Schmidt supporters cast their votes for the SPD. There were many CDU and FDP voters among them.

Why was the FDP defeated? It certainly cannot be due to the quality of its policy and its team, although its top candidate, Liselotte Funke, can hardly be termed a ball of fire.

But her bungled campaign might have had something to do with the defeat. Like the CDU, the FDP underestimated the emotional effects of national policy; and that liberals seized upon Strauss as an issue when it was too late.

Unlike in the Saar, the FDP failed to provide anti-Strauss CDU voters with a bridge.

The FDP, avowed of liberalism and responsibility rallied dyed-in-the-wool FDP voters but failed to capture other votes. In state elections, with their constantly changing lines of argument, this can rarely be achieved through political programmes. But then, programmes have never been the FDP's strong point.

Unfortunately, the FDP comes into the limelight when coalitions are at

stake and when the objective is to prevent an absolute majority. But most of all, attention focuses on it when it is in danger of being wiped out.

The FDP failed to make use of these facts in North Rhine-Westphalia, having been lulled into a false feeling of safety by opinion polls.

The two decisive factors of the North Rhine-Westphalia polling — the SPD's absolute majority in the State Assembly and the founding of the FDP on the 5 per cent hurdle — remained unmentioned as a possibility in the campaign. It never occurred to the voters who favour the Coalition that the FDP might need bolstering.

These voters are mobile and can be re-captured provided the FDP does not start flirting with the CDU. The liberals must therefore be wary of the lure cast out by CDU politicians in the form of coalition offers.

Any such flirt would cause a panic in the liberals' own ranks and uncertainty among the electorate.

Pro-coalition voters want Chancellor Schmidt and the SPD-FDP coalition; but they do not want an absolute majority for the SPD. In fact, the SPD itself is afraid of this.

This is 1980 and not 1961 when the FDP took advantage of the general mood with its slogan: "For the CDU but without Adenauer."

Today, a slogan that said "Without Strauss" could work while no slogan opposing Schmidt would stand a chance.

Nobody can today win an election with an anti-Schmidt slogan. Besides, it takes no great effort on the part of the FDP to identify itself with the Chancellor's policy which is virtually identical with that of Genscher or Lambsdorff.

This being so, it is inadvisable for the FDP to engage in a coalition tug-of-war only to prove its independence. If such a war were directed against the Chancellor it would harm both the SPD and the FDP.

What might stand a chance of success is to modify the SPD slogan in North Rhine-Westphalia: "Keep the Chancellor's back covered — even against his own party."

In North Rhine-Westphalia, it was not a wrong coalition that spelled disaster for the FDP but its inability to get across the role it played in this coalition.

North Rhine-Westphalia's state assembly poll

CDU 48.4

SPD 43.3

FDP 4.9

Greens 3.0

Percentage of votes polled

1962 1968 1970 1976 1980

SPD 106

CDU 95

seats

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SPD 106

CDU 95

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THE PARTIES

Opposition's poll manifesto 'hurriedly put together'



A rough draft of the Opposition CDU/CSU election manifesto has finally been released. And it shows the stress that the party has been labouring under.

The haste with which the programme was put together is obvious. The editors did not even take the time to bring some order into their sequence of argument.

In its outward appearance the programme resembles a precipitately put together mosaic of excerpts from the speeches of Franz Josef Strauss, the CDU/CSU's candidate for the chancellorship.

This obviously detracts from the poignancy of the programme, making it less convincing.

But after some effort it is still possible to distill the essential elements from the 40-page document.

The programme opens with a preamble which deals primarily with the seriousness of the general situation. It describes the dangerous development of an aggressive potential by the Soviets while at the same time rejecting any policy that would frighten the public.

The conservatives are bound to be aware of the fact that such passages could be understood as a contradiction. In fact, it is doubtful whether this bleak description of the international situation will be of any benefit to them.

It is an established fact by now that the electorate gathers around the Chancellor rather than Strauss in times of crisis. Thus the foreign policy section of the preamble could well prove a boomerang and ultimately benefit the Chancellor.

The very first sentence demonstrates this: "Like the second and the fifth decades of our century, the 1980s will probably be the third crisis decade."

The second decade brought the First World War, and the fifth World War II.

In historic terms, the decline of the Weimar Republic, the events that preceded World War II and the Korean and Cuban crises would have deserved mention.

Another somewhat curious aspect is that the authors emphatically refuse to draw a parallel between our present international situation and the years that preceded World War I. It would seem a plausible explanation that the first sentence was not exactly the result of deep thought.

The term "peace policy", which seemed reserved for Willy Brandt for a while, now crops up again with the rider "realistic".

This is contrasted with the socialist and Soviet détente policy without explaining how the two are linked.

Still, the programme says that the Soviet Union expanded its military might particularly in the years of détente. This is amplified by the statement that the conservatives would base their policy on existing treaties.

For the rest, the dominant mood is marked by scepticism regarding détente. Disarmament, the programme states, will not prevent a war and détente coupled with arms limitation is an instrument of power for the Communist camp. But the programme nevertheless expressly supports détente.

Concerning freedom, the paper is marked by timidity. Peace, it says, must be considered in jeopardy as long as Europe's oil supply remains insecure. Conversely, this would imply that peace

would be secured should oil flow richly. But this can hardly apply in a country faced with the permanent aggression of the Wall and the barbed wire border.

The programme has separated the German and the European questions. It terms the re-establishment of German unity the foremost objective without mentioning European unity as its precondition.

All in all, the conservatives once more staunchly back the West and Nato, stressing that they are prepared to support other members of the Alliance in "strengthening their defences".

Regarding *Deutschlandpolitik*, the programme tersely states: "We want the German National Foundation in Berlin."

Berlin's ties with the Federal Republic of Germany are to be tightened, and this is likely to meet with stiff opposition — not only from the East but from the West as well.

Domestic policy is marked by reservations regarding finance. Nothing is to be promised that cannot be paid for.

Thus the programme does not promise a cutback in state indebtedness but only a curb on further debt.

For an election programme there is a fair bit of courage in this — but what a pity that such good resolutions have been so poorly drafted.

And what a pity that nothing is said about whether the whole package of promises in the family affairs sector will fall prey to the finance minister's veto.

The "new social issue" is also mentioned — and that, too, is bound to cry out for money.

It is generally known what the conservatives have in mind but their plans might well remain plans only for lack of money.

Much space has been devoted to problems concerning women — especially mothers who are "only" housewives.

Another major point concerns the family, which is to be supported in its struggle for self-assertion within society.

The programme is unequivocal — though in a somewhat muddled way — on the nuclear energy issue.

A "balance between small, medium

Continued on page 6



Kurt Biedenkopf
(Photo: Marianne von der Lue)

Loss 'no failure' for leader

North Rhine-Westphalia's CDU, again failed to form a government after 14 years in opposition.

However, it would be unfair to regard a disastrous failure by the party in the election on 11 May.

Biedenkopf, an eloquent fighter, a professor of political science, had been nominated to the position only a few weeks before the election following the death of Heinrich Köppler.

It is doubtful whether the defeat will now lead to a discussion on a possible reshuffle in the State CDU.

Biedenkopf's campaign was too heartfelt for that. Also he enjoys a strong position in his party, not least among the left wing. There is a strong desire in the wings to match him.

SPD leader Johannes Rau, who has been confirmed as North Rhine-Westphalia's Prime Minister for a five-year term, will now have to contend with opposition leader in the State Assembly who will challenge him more effectively than the more conciliatory Köppler had done.

The role of opposition leader in North Rhine-Westphalia, which has a new step in Professor Biedenkopf's career.

He had, in fact, been mooted as a conservative candidate for the chancellorship and has been making headlines throughout his political career.

At the age of 37 he became rector of the Ruhr University in Bochum. He was followed by the position of executive of a major chemicals firm in Düsseldorf. During the Grand Coalition in Bonn under Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger (CDU), he chaired the

Co-determination Commission, later becoming his party's most influential spokesman. In 1977 he became chairman of the second largest CDU district in Westphalia-Lippe, thus gaining considerable political power in the state.

The FDP defeat came as a major shock for the liberals, not only in Düsseldorf but in Bonn as well. Unlike the liberals, the Social Democrats in North Rhine-Westphalia entered the election campaign with great optimism.

The statistics of State elections 1978 show SPD gains almost everywhere while the CDU has lost votes everywhere except in Berlin.

Jürgen Offenbach
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 May 1980)

HOME AFFAIRS

Army recruiting day demonstrations break out into violence

A public swearing-in ceremony in Bonn of 1000 Bundeswehr recruits triggered clashes between 7000 demonstrators and the police. According to the police, some 80 demonstrators and at least 260 policemen were hurt in the riot, some badly. The ceremony was headed by President Carstens.

Nobody expected the 25th anniversary of Germany's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to give rise to much jubilation.

The day was, after all, overshadowed by the worst crisis the West has faced since the 1962 Cuban debacle. By the time token, nobody expected that the public swearing-in ceremony for 1,200 Bundeswehr recruits would develop into bloody clashes of such magnitude.

The whole thing is frightening. Contended, we have grown used to all sorts of violent demonstrations: against nuclear reactors and storage facilities for their waste and against the guardians of law and order.

Some of these demonstrations have been legitimate and others at least understandable. But never before has the approval of Bundeswehr recruits to defend their country triggered such riots.

It is still unclear who exactly was behind the Bremen violence. It is hard to separate the rabble rousers from the travellers.

Any democratic country has the right to defend itself and this presupposes an armed force. And the state can demand of its citizens that they uphold the law. But exactly that was what the trouble-makers demonstrated against.

There is reason to be concerned. Until now, it was taken for granted that the approval of the Bundeswehr and its necessity was particularly pronounced in times of crises. The general tenet was that troubled times heighten the awareness of the usefulness of the Bundeswehr and the need for its integration in the state.

In its 1974 White Paper Bonn stated: "There is a close link between the assessment of the international political constellation and that of the Bundeswehr. External threats lead to more approval of the armed forces."

But it is open to doubt now whether this still applies. True, the Bremen events were not typical excesses. Even so, it is hard to shrug off the impression that the public, for fear of a further deterioration of the international crisis, seeks to distance itself from Bonn's security policy.

Defence Minister Hans Apel — little knowing what would face our young soldiers in Bremen — recently spoke of the difficulties of convincing the public of the need for a strategy of military balance of power as a precondition of state.

Said Herr Apel: "It has become clear that in the past few years some people in our country have unconsciously suppressed the necessity to ponder unpleasant problems of our own security, to draw their conclusions and to be prepared to make personal and financial sacrifices to preserve the balance of power without which peace is not possible."

Herr Apel probably had certain groups in his mind. There are quite a few Social Democrats who are no longer prepared to support Bonn's policy.

In fact, there were times at the recent SPD Security Policy Congress in Cologne when it seemed that this group had gained the upper hand. One of the delegates, for instance, said that Germany should promote its own interests in Nato and disregard those of the United States.

Another called for a review of the Nato decision to modernise its medium-range rocket arsenal in Europe and Bonn's simultaneous offer to negotiate on arms control, saying that he failed to see why the Germans should have anything to do whatsoever with the victorious powers' nuclear policies.

And a woman delegate said: "If we need weapons to preserve the peace we're on the wrong track." This was followed by the demand that the destroyers "Lütjens" and "Bayern" be stopped from going on their voyage to the Indian Ocean.

The fear of a major international crisis has thus turned into uneasiness about the Alliance and the obligations it entails.

This uneasiness about Nato has turned inward against the Bundeswehr and its integration in Nato. It almost seems as if the discussion over the arming of

the nation that ended more than two decades ago is to be rekindled among Germany's Social Democrats.

The Protestant Church, which has always given equal priority to the right of conscientious objection and the fulfilment of national service obligations, is now — or so it seems — beginning to rethink.

Most outspoken so far have been four Erlangen theologians who, in a memorandum, opposed the established formula "serving peace with and without arms."

The slogan, they hold, is not only politically ineffectual but has become meaningless.

The memorandum, drafted under the impact of the Afghanistan crisis and the danger of a military conflict, culminates in the statement: "National service within the framework of Nato is meaningful only as long as the deterrent functions."

It becomes pointless the moment the troops are ordered into action."

It would be the easy way out to reject the theologians' argument by calling it defeatist. But they must permit themselves to be asked how a Bundeswehr soldier is to justify his service to his fellow-citizens when faced with the clear

Clashes likely to silence military liberals

He will be confronted with the question whether there are rationally explicable and sound reasons to make soldiers swear an oath by telling them that this is military tradition and that their forebears did the same. The tattoo ceremony is justified in the same way: as tradition.

But tradition is the very crux of our particular difficulties. Where does the Bundeswehr's tradition lie — with which of its predecessors?

German troops had a good right to defend themselves against Napoleonic invaders. But what about the princes? They pressed their people into service for self-aggrandisement and gain.

We could just as well leave out the 19th century, when the princes suppressed the citizens' uprising in 1848. We can also skip Bismarck's using the army against the workers.

So far, the Bundeswehr has sought its tradition in the 20th century and has had a hard time with it. Meetings with former World War II officers, the naming of barracks and ships and affairs involving generals have for years blurred the image and, by the same token, aroused public sympathy for the army's problems in dealing with its past.

Committed democrats are irked by the fact that our latest two destroyers have been named after Admiral Lütjens and the fighter pilot Mölders. The one sent a loyalty message to Hitler just before his battleship "Blamark" went down and the other achieved his first air

denial that he is in uniform to preserve the peace.

True, a few theologians and a group of opponents of Bonn's security policy among SPD ranks should not worry us. Nor should we worry unduly about the fact that Communists, left-wing extremists and other radicals use every opportunity to undermine our democratic system.

But the Bremen riots clearly showed that the malcontents are not loners. The question now is whether — regardless of the protesters in Bremen — there is a new trend to oppose the Western Alliance.



alliance and upset the broad support needed for the complicated balance of power concept, the prerequisite for peace and détente.

It is difficult to distinguish between objective and emotional opposition. Certainly no German politician or general has said a single word that could be interpreted as provocative since the Afghanistan crisis began. There has been no sabre rattling and there is unlikely to be any.

Yet there are signs of a new "without me" trend. Temptation grows as the hope that survival can be bought burgeons.

But as Churchill once said: "You don't escape danger by turning your back on it."

Hans Schueler
(Ole Zeit, 9 May 1980)

victories fighting for Franco in the Spanish Civil War.

It was not only committed democrats who found it tasteless that a Bundeswehr band made recordings of SS marches and that a delegation of officers was sent to the funeral of an SS colonel.

On the other hand, many people in this country applauded the naming of an Air Force barracks after World War I flying ace Wilhelm Frankl. He stands for the innumerable Jewish soldiers who died for their German fatherland in World War I.

Germany has no military history to which our military tradition could be pegged without qualms. In fact, we even lack a common understanding of our past — an understanding that would make it possible to accept heroism even if it served to further crimes.

Whether a man who earned the Knight's Cross in the Second World War should or should not wear it with formal dress is a matter of taste.

Most people will not remind the holder of such a decoration that his personal courage helped to prolong mass murder.

So why should we continue to make our Bundeswehr search for a tradition that it can embrace without being arbitrarily selective?

Why should we leave it in the cleft stick of examples of blind obedience and resistance in exceptional circumstances?

The Bundeswehr will only find emotional peace and balance when it stops searching for hopes and banners of the past and concentrates on its own honourable tradition.

After all, this Bundeswehr has for 25 years preserved the peace shoulder to shoulder with the armed forces of the free world.

Hans Schueler
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 May 1980)

■ THE EEC

Guarantee fund leaves room for manoeuvre with farm cash

We are constantly being told that the EEC will soon be unable to pay for the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) — but the figures tell a different story.

Budget experts in the EEC Commission reckon that community funds — coming mainly from customs duty, agricultural levies and up to one per cent of total VAT income from member countries — will be about DM46bn.

The agricultural guarantee fund, however, only claimed DM26bn last year and by 1981 will hardly need more than DM32bn with which to buy up surpluses. So there is plenty of room for manoeuvre.

The Farmers' Association official who gave me these figures was speaking with his tongue in his cheek because he knew that the Commission would like to reserve funds to deflect them from income guarantees for farmers.

However, his nonchalance was not all an act. Like all the nine ministers of agriculture he is sure that the guarantee fund will in the future be as big as they all — the British minister of agriculture excepted — wish it to be.

Even the failure of the Luxembourg summit conference only increased their sense of security. While the heads of government were meeting, eight of the nine ministers of agriculture agreed on a five per cent farm price increase for this coming year.

If the summit had not broken down because of the United Kingdom's financial demands, the heads of government would no doubt have been relieved that the figure of five per cent had been agreed, even though the Commission says the prices are still too high.

Brussels agricultural experts do not believe that British Minister of Agriculture Peter Walker can keep up his lone stand very much longer. Though he may resist his eight colleagues yet again on May 6, they are almost bound to "talk him round" afterwards.

And so the bankruptcy of the EEC which many have been predicting for so long will not now occur until next year.

In December 1979 the European Parliament rejected the proposed EEC budget for 1980. Commissioner Tugendhat then presented another draft in which all but DM7.9bn of the EEC's funds would have been spent. Of this remaining DM7.9bn, the ministers of

agriculture will certainly spend a good DM3bn.

Next year spending on agriculture will go above its traditional level of 70 per cent of total expenditure, because the financial limit has been reached and the budget cannot be increased. The EEC will not then even have more money than it has now for all its other activities. The finance ministers usually make cuts in non-agricultural expenditure, but this will not be enough.

The heads of state and government will have to keep their promise to pay two instead of six now one per cent of total VAT turnover into the community — and they will have to pay this money in advance until the national parliaments have passed the corresponding legislation.

All this would not be and would not sound so dramatic if the CAP, which costs so much money, was worthwhile. But it is not. What the agriculture ministers have made of the common agricultural policy is not an advertisement for the EEC — on the contrary, it is a deterrent against any further European experiments and barmy even the little integration that has been achieved to date, because it diverts funds from it.

What might have been achieved in the EEC if the DM50bn spent every year on subsidising the income of its eight million farmers had been spent on industrial and agricultural infrastructure investments in the poorer and weaker regions of the community?

However we would not need to mourn the expenditure of so many billions in subsidies if they had achieved what they were meant to achieve. The guarantee fund has doubled, rising to DM26bn since 1973 (including revaluations), and yet Brussels agricultural experts are more pessimistic than ever about the development of farmers' incomes.

The average income in agriculture has not been raised to the level of industry. From 1968 to 1975, average per capita income of farmers rose at about the same speed as income in the rest of the economy but since then they have fallen further and further behind, because they

are not rising at all in real terms any more.

The agriculture ministers are now faced with the ruins of their policies. They have to spend more and more billions in subsidies to prevent incomes dropping endlessly. The vicious circle is closing. Pressure and counter-pressure in the Council of Ministers ensure that thanks to the annual increase in producer prices the farmers can keep up with inflation — but no more.

Disregarding devaluation, agricultural support prices today are no higher today than in 1972. In the long run, income can only be increased by improving productivity. The farmer must ensure that he produces more with the same number of workers.

This means producing more surpluses, because the market has long since been unable to absorb all the agricultural products. And thanks to the EEC guarantee system, the farmer can do this.

He can produce as much as he wants without worrying about whether it is sold. He can buy equipment and machines to help him increase production. In a free market without purchase guarantees this would not be possible. Agricultural production has been increasing at any annual rate of over five per cent a year since the EEC began — much faster than the increase in industrial production (three to 3.6 per cent).

EEC farmers have thus made themselves utterly dependent on the EEC guarantee fund. It is a kind of addiction. Every day the farmer takes more, and every day the danger increases that he will collapse if he is deprived of the slightest dose.

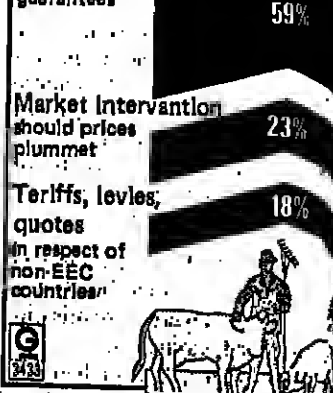
Fair enough for the EEC to dispense these addictive drugs if it helps farmers to keep their farms going. But the CAP becomes unacceptable when, in early capitalist style, it gives preferential treatment to big farmers, shovelling such vast amounts into their profit and loss accounts as to take Commissioner Tugendhat's breath away.

At the same time, small farmers are going to the wall for lack of funds. The system of sales and purchase guarantees permits huge investments and this favours larger farms; only big farms can

CAP — the Farmer's Friend

Farm sales in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1978/79 totalled DM2.2bn. Farmgate prices were guaranteed at 59% of market prices.

EEC market regulations including sales and price guarantees



fully use the productive power of their equipment. Automatic milking machines mean that one man can milk 100 cows. And the EEC pays the bill.

The governments in Bonn, Paris and The Hague showed that they were not short-sighted by introducing price guarantees precisely for the products typically produced on big farms, wheat, sugar beet, meat, etc. The community makes rich farmers even richer.

Among farmers there is no anger, not only about inadequate income but about injustice. The income per member of the family is higher in the Paris basin than in Limousin. In Lombardy, it is higher than in Calabria and Molise.

Nothing has changed here in the last 10 years. After all, this new type of borrowing is not only located abroad but also in the hands of the lender. The lender is not only located abroad but also in the hands of the lender.

As the farmers whose excessive production creates so much of the surplus value fund mainly happen to come from a loan in Saudi rials — even should the wealthier EEC states, the EEC notes be made out in deutschmarks — using two-thirds of its income to subsidise the income gap between its rich and poor members — and it then has the right to exchange his deutschmarks for the remaining one-third.

Last year, the EEC spent DM12,000 per worker on Belgium, DM10,000 on Dutch agriculture, just under DM6,000 on Germany, DM3,600 on France, and only DM1,300 on the agriculture.

The flourishing Danish farm produces twice as much sugar as Germany, but it is not controlled by consumers' need and three and a half times as much pork. The Italian pig-breeding industry, it has always been a currency of the Dutch produce twice as much as the Dutch, but it is not controlled by consumers' need and three and a half times as much pork.

The Dutch also produce twice as much butter, eight times as much veal and more than twice as much cheese than they need.

Many agricultural experts now know that there is no longer any justification for this kind of intervention. However, any change would be a financial sacrifice, especially for the big farmers.

But, as money flows in Brussels, the collapse of the EEC budget is not the real problem. If the CAP were changed, the price guarantee into a subsidy would be even more expensive than it is now. The problem is that the EEC has forced it into an insane system which it is hopelessly and increasingly caught in.

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FINANCE

Banks fear petro dollar loan is new way to plug holes in ledger

Wim Hankel, Professor of Economics at the Johns Hopkins University, is at the significance behind the Saudi Republic of Germany's loan to Saudi Arabia. And in the same way he puts forward some ideas to the financial burdens of Third World countries.

The decision to borrow 3bn petrodollars from Saudi Arabia has worried banks in the so-called Federal Loan Consortium.

They are afraid what will happen if the form of borrowing develops into a method of double-deficit spending to plug the federal budget and offset the balance-of-payments deficit.

The amount borrowed in this case is only the same as the amount Germany gives in aid to Third World countries — hit by oil-price increases.

Now the consortium, so far the only to have profited from federal borrowing, want several questions to be answered.

The first is: can the deal be justified? First, if it is really a fundamental and sensible principle of responsible ratemaking, then reckless borrowing that state indebtedness is in essence only an income per member of the family.

Second, the finance minister can expect income on secure revenues in the near future. In Lombardy, it is higher than in Limousin. In Calabria and Molise, it is higher than in Calabria and Molise.

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flation by exporting our currency, i.e. inflation abroad on the so-called Euro-markets (whose Euro-DM component will now grow even faster) and internal inflation since domestic economy measures can neither fill the hole in the balance of payments nor in the budget.

Was it not Chancellor Schmidt who, when he was "only finance minister", accused the United States of financing the Vietnam war via the inflation rate instead of via taxation and economising?

Third, the tenfold increase of the oil cost in less than eight years has changed the foundations of the economic, monetary and fiscal policies of Germany and all other oil-dependent Western industrial countries. They all have to pay more and more of their real income to the Opec nations.

An energy pauper such as Japan has to use fully 50 per cent of its exports to pay for the oil bill alone. Germany is considerably better off, but even so the problem is grave.

Must we therefore not label our finance minister a great "realpolitician" for having cleverly tied the most important oil supplier to this country, and as a lender at that?

But there is something wrong with such figuring — at least in the long run. Since 1973 the Opec countries have risked their own and our necks with their reckless policy of "sole financing".

Via the unrealistically high oil prices they are not only stripping us of our real earnings — that would still be tolerable and perhaps even understandable if they used the money to finance their own development.

But they are taking more from us than they can possibly invest in Saudi Arabia and other sparsely populated Opec countries. The rest of the money is being offered in the form of petrodollar credits on free international markets.

Ultimately, we who borrow this money to pay our oil bill not only finance new oil price increases, thus perpetuating our problems; we also "make up"

Now that Kuwait has bought a 10 per cent equity in the DM240m capital of Metallgesellschaft AG (MG) there will again be those who will raise the spectre of a sell-out of German business to the sheikhs.

But, in fact German companies so far, have acted rather timidly in terms of Opec participation.

Of the more important participations, so far only the 30 per cent Kuwait equity in the German and American Korf Steel Group and the 14 per cent stake in Daimler Benz have become known.

Kuwait has stressed from the very beginning that these are pure financial deals and that they have no ambitions to have a say in the running of the companies.

In the case of Daimler, Kuwait does not even have a seat on the Supervisory Board and the deal was probably only made to take advantage of a bargain.

Even if we include Iran, the only other Opec country to have bought equities in German companies, we can hardly speak of a sell-out.

But the Shah was more ambitious; and he would probably have bought



for the real income (standard of living) of which we have been stripped by uncontrolled borrowing abroad.

The inevitable result is that we live beyond our means as evidenced by growing balance of payments deficits. But then, so do the Opec countries, who permit themselves every imaginable luxury.

This recycling, i.e. the continuous conversion of Opec surpluses into foreign indebtedness of the industrial nations, can only be termed an inflation machine for as long as the vicious circle functions.

The industrial countries do not adapt to the reduced standard of living nor do they press on with the development of alternative sources of energy, including the nuclear variety.

By the same token, inflation is rampant in the Opec countries — an inflation resulting from the exchange of petrodollars into domestic currencies to finance spending. In all likelihood this will lead to the collapse of these countries sooner rather than later. The only question is: which will come first? The financial or the political collapse? Or will they come simultaneously?

Another possibility is that recycling will founder on the fact that more and more of the good credit risks among today's foreign borrowers will stop being such good risks for additional petrodollar credits.

It is not much of a consolation that Germany is likely to be the last to suffer this fate. We must take into account that the collapse of our important trading partners abroad will hit an export-dependent nation like Germany long before we ourselves reach the limit of possible indebtedness.

Firms hold back on Opec deals

other equities had it not been for the restrictive attitude of German banks and changes in the statutes of some major German companies that precluded foreign participation with a say in management.

The new Kuwait deal with MG is also little more than a long-term investment. The Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Metallwerke in Zurich, which held to all intents and purposes about to be liquidated, and the transfer to Kuwait of a 10 per cent block of shares only proves that, following its poor experience with dollar participation, Kuwait was interested in a sound investment, notwithstanding the small yield.

Profits from such investments are to replace oil earnings once the deposits dry up. As a result, participations like this last one with MG must be seen within a long-term framework.

Even if Kuwait only supplies oil for

Let us therefore put it this way: if our finance minister, who engages in this type of deadly recycling, truly a "realpolitician"?

It is hardly *realpolitik* when the same government, which does not tire of demanding of its own people and of the friendly governments in the EMS, EEC and OECD that they pursue a policy of stability finances its own spending via the world inflation rate and then goes and fights the domestic inflation it has thus smuggled into the country.

And it is no *realpolitik* when major industrial nations, among them Germany, pocket the last still available funds, i.e. those of the rich Opec states, instead of effectively helping the Third World countries that have been hardest hit by the oil price spiral (as recommended by the Brandt Commission).

This is where the big alternative to recycling and the bloating of Euro and petrodollar markets lies. Since the Opec countries have managed to reshuffle the world income and become the sole mammoth creditor of the world economy, only they still have the money needed to help the poor Third World countries. And they could help far beyond the damage they themselves have caused.

It is therefore up to them to revive the capital and technology transfer from the industrial to the developing countries which has bogged down by granting generous credits to the Third World. For Opec, this would not be charity but a splendid deal if the industrial countries were to guarantee it.

Former Bonn Development Aid Minister Egon Bahr could tell Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer a thing or two about such trilateral financing of development projects.

And our federal budget could be relieved because the deutschmark amounts involved would be guaranteed and not paid. Moreover, this would only be done to the extent of our capacity.

But the decisive factor is that by helping to solve Third World problems, the Opec countries would not only make productive use of their riches but would also put an end to temptation to continue consuming oil at the old rate with all the inflationary consequences this entails.

True *realpolitik* would be to replace oil by alternative energy forms.

(Vorwärts, 5 May 1980)

the time being and has no entrepreneurial ambitions, both sides stand to benefit.

Kuwait now has an equity in a concern that tops up annual sales of DM8bn, including its subsidiary, Lurgi, which is regarded as Europe's largest engineering company.

Kuwait, with its small territory and a population of 1.3m., of whom more than half are foreign workers, is primarily interested in such capital-intensive projects as refineries, gas liquefaction and petrochemical factories.

MG, of course, hopes for financing by the new stockholder for its raw materials exploration projects in developing countries — projects for which Kuwait has hitherto been setting aside a considerable share of its gnp.

Kuwait can pay DM150m out of petty cash and the MG deal will not be a major contribution towards solving the recycling problem of oil earnings.

Still, it will have a positive effect on the Euro-Arab oil dialogue which could be defused by the transaction.

Joseph Hees (Hamburger Abendblatt, 5 May 1980)

RESEARCH

Bonn-backed team sets up Antarctic base

The first post-war German expedition to the Antarctic, has ended. It even set a record. *Polarisirkel*, the chartered Norwegian research vessel, with its complement of 21 West German scientists, went further west than any ship before them through the pack ice of the Weddell Sea, the Antarctic's worst. The most important outcome of the venture is probably that the expedition was able to find a suitable location for the German Antarctic base that is due to be set up at the end of this year.

The Antarctic, twice the size of Australia, is the coldest, stormiest and most isolated part of the world. In the past only polar research scientists have paid much attention to it.

Thirteen countries now have Antarctic bases and research stations, and the coldest continent is growing increasingly disputed.

International interest is concentrated on the riches the world's largest deep freezer has to offer. There are thought to be more than 900 major commodity deposits in the Antarctic.

Iron ore and coal deposits already discovered must be reckoned among the world's foremost, while pundits have visions of lead, copper and gold deposits on a par with those of Chile and Peru.

True enough, the mountain ranges of the Antarctic are geologically a continuation of the South American Andes.

Deep drilling has also brought to light ethylene and methane. Both are gases that would seem to suggest that a lot of oil must be around.

Member-countries of the Antarctic pact are shortly to reach a final decision on the exploitation rights of the ice-clad continent's natural resources.

By the terms of the treaty West Germany will not qualify as a full member of the pact until it has a permanent research base in the Antarctic ice, a polar research vessel and a special research institute of its own.

So the Bonn Research Ministry readily invested nearly DM300m in the project.

After an adventurous 2,000km journey through the Antarctic ice, the *Polarisirkel* expedition squad finally located an ideal site for the first German polar base, at 77 degrees south and 50 degrees west on the Filchner ice shelf.

It meets all the major requirements. The pack ice is fairly readily accessible at this point. The edge of the ice shelf is only 7 to 10 metres high, so equipment can be landed without difficulty.

For safety's sake the base will be about 20km inland from the edge of the shelf, which is an enormous sheet of ice up to 200 metres thick and the size of West Germany.

But it is continually pushed out to sea at a rate of one kilometre a year, creating king-sized icebergs, many of which are miles long.

The *Polarisirkel* expedition discovered the remains of Halley Bay, an old British research base that is now buried 25 metres or so beneath the ice and has reached its outer edge.

Captain Lothar Suhrmeyer, 41, from Bremerhaven, who was responsible for cargo and for nautical advice on the route to be taken, recalled the sight:

"Half the research station had already been broken up and borne out to sea as an iceberg, while the remainder still clung to the edge of the ice shelf."

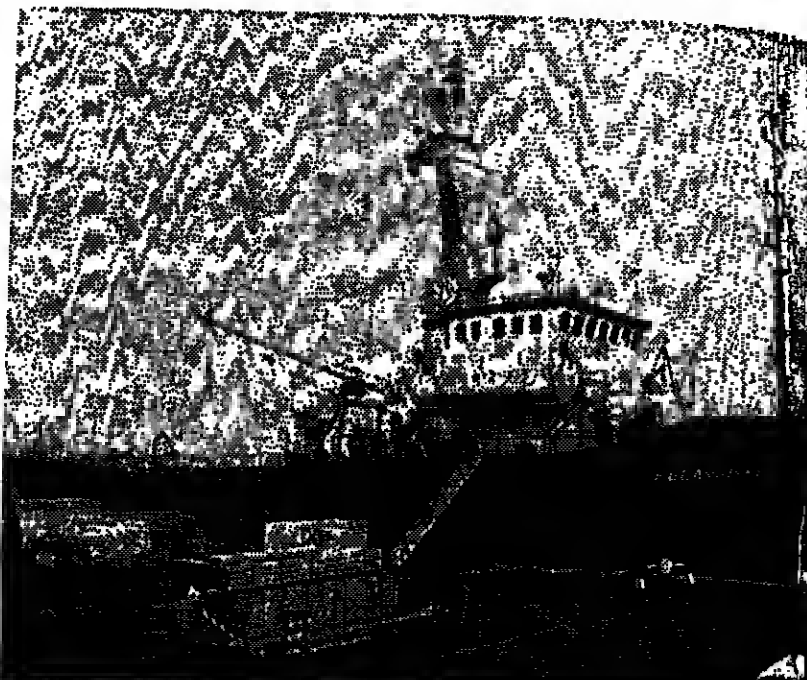
"You could still sail alongside the old base and crawl inside its ice-clad remains."

Klaus Henning, 42, from Hamburg, was head of department and project manager for Deutsche Offshore, the Hapag-Lloyd subsidiary responsible for the expedition's travel arrangements.

He was amazed how interesting a world that at first glance appeared dead turned out to be and what changes it was continually undergoing.

He was particularly impressed by the many aspects of the Antarctic sky, the colourful polar light and astounding light reflections.

Suddenly, for instance, huge moun-



"Polarisirkel": probed new horizons.

(Photo: Hapag-Lloyd)

Not a stone unturned

Stone by stone, geologists piece Munich apart over the next months, checking masonry for wear and tear.

The project, with a DM200m subsidy from the Volkswagen Foundation, will be undertaken by the Munich University department of natural and applied geology.

Natural and man-made wear of house facades, monument and church portals will be checked by monument curators and restorers.

They will be better able to assess masonry that is still in good condition and to replace weathered or pollution-pockmarked stone with more resistant varieties of rock.

Geologists, masonry technicians and monument curators have long sought a clearer idea of how masonry crumbles.

As yet they can only step in tentatively, it is too late because the masonry has already started peeling, crumbling to pockmark and the need to show signs of wear and tear.

It has now been decided to take a closer look at the entire phenomenon using Munich as a case in point.

There could hardly be a better laboratory. Nowhere have so many different varieties of masonry from all over the world been exposed to so much wear and tear over the centuries.

Buildings, monuments and memorials in natural sandstone often be accurately dated from their state of decay.

Subsequent care and attention, conservation and replacements can be largely reconstructed.

The survey will be based on a map of selected areas of the city. Masonry in being will be recorded on basic maps.

Damage charts will then register various (and variously documented) facts of wear and tear.

Damage to individual stone kinds of masonry will then be assessed using petrographical, geophysical, chemical, tectonic and biological methods.

The survey, geologists claim, will light on masonry pores and changes, metabolic changes, changes in colour, fading and differences in texture of the rock.

Rudolf Hajduk

(Die Welt, 9 May 1980)

Continued from page 8

hibernate on their Antarctic bases is particularly hard. Between April and September it never grows really light.

It also blows gales of up to 125 miles an hour and the lowest temperatures ever recorded, -88.3 centigrade, have been recorded.

This hostile environment forces scientists to stay safely under the snow for the duration of the winter. They can only leave the safety of their subterranean homes and go up outside for 15 to 30 minutes daily.

They will, for that matter, only do so to gather fuel and collect snow for refilling their water tanks.

A small ice-bound town is due to be built on the Filchner ice shelf this December, early in the Antarctic summer. It should be enough to enable West German scientists to last out the winter on this inhospitable continent.

Up to 40 of them are to be housed in insulated, fully equipped containers inside two corrugated metal tubes 50 metres long and buried two metres below ground.

From their Antarctic home base where they will live and work they will embark on an extensive programme of scientific research.

Special attention will be paid to the seaboard and glacial ice. The Antarctic is a gigantic natural laboratory in which all manner of theories about the origins and development of the ice ages can be checked.

Research into Antarctic coastal waters, rich as they are in fish stocks, will be of at least equal importance for world nutrition.

Monika Müller

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 May 1980)

THE ENVIRONMENT

Experts want limits on use of pesticides

Chemical weedkillers and pesticides are unlikely to become more widely used than they are now.

Delegates at a plant protection consultants' conference in Munich were told that the next stage was to find the safest, shortest and most economic means of protecting plants.

This could result in less chemicals being used.

The chairman of the Bavarian plant protection consultants' working party is Walter Leibelt, head of the Munich agricultural office maintained by Hoechst, the Frankfurt chemicals corporation.

Bavaria is the only Land in West Germany where consultants have joined forces in this way. The Munich gathering was attended by about 100 experts and politicians, civil servants, farmers, research scientists and industrial representatives.

Werner Hunnius of the Bavarian Plant Cultivation and Soil Research Institute told them all about the Bavarian approach to plant protection and weed-killing.

Any system of integrated plant protection, he said, must include conservation of the ecological cycle as one of its objectives.

It must also include indirect measures such as the use of healthy seeds and plants, soil cultivation, fertilisation and seed protection.

Directly, plant protection, entailed mechanical, biological and chemical measures, he said, and efforts were currently being made to intensify mechanical weedkilling.

About 62 per cent of chemicals used in agriculture went towards killing weeds. Biological measures included germ warfare on them.

Chemicals, had an important part to play in plant protection but should only be used where they were absolutely essential. Herr Hunnius favoured using them in moderation and for specific purposes only.

Their use must be geared to the damage threshold, the point at which weeds caused harm. The institute was trying to compile comprehensive facts and figures on the subject.

Jürgen Kradel of BASF said that integrated plant cultivation nowadays obliged farmers to use chemicals for a specific purpose and dosed in accordance with the crop yield expected.

For cost reasons chemical weedkillers and pesticides were being limited to an extent of use that could be rated meaningful from the ecological viewpoint.

Wolfgang Waldhauer of Bayer noted that new and improved processes held forth the prospect of reducing the quantity of chemicals used in plant protection.

While there was no question of dis-

persing with chemicals entirely in farming, costs could certainly be cut. An instance he cited was that of seed being impregnated with fungicide.

This protected the seedling from infection and meant that spraying might no longer be necessary.

But developing new agents and processes was a long and costly business. Even so, competition between manufacturers was sufficient to ensure that research along these lines would be intensified.

As regarded traces of plant protection agents in food, Siegfried Gorbach of Hoechst's central research division reckoned the risk was slight.

Man had long lived with the problem of left-overs of this kind without being unduly aware of it even.

Smoke contained carcinogenic agents, yet hardly anyone would hit on the idea of claiming that smoke-cured food was poisonous.

There were any number of substances in the food we ate that did not get there by human means, so the risk of damage was what counted, not the quantity of traces.

Plant protection agents were carefully checked in laboratory and animal experiments to ensure they entailed no health hazard before permission was granted to market them.

The amount of weedkiller and insecticide contained in the crop at harvest time was painstakingly ascertained and must be within permitted levels.

If it was more, the use of this product for the purpose in question would not be recommended, he said. His talk was followed by detailed discussion.

Martin Rehm

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 May 1980)

More evidence unearthed on North Sea pollution

Scientists have been warning for years about the amount of industrial waste and sludge being dumped in the German Bight area of the North Sea.

But a lack of conclusive evidence that marine life was coming to harm handicapped the appeals.

Now, new evidence unearthed by V. Dethlefsen and B. Westermann, scientists with the inland and coastal fishery department of the Federal Fishery Research Institute, fills this gap.

In an article in *Informationen für die Fischwirtschaft*, the Hamburg Institute's house journal, they document a high frequency of skin diseases among fish in the area where titanium oxide waste is dumped.

The North Sea is, of course, kept continually on the move, but so much chemical waste is pumped into the sea north-west of Heligoland that changes were observed in 1976 and earlier.

Its acid content was seen to increase, for instance, as was its carbon monoxide count, and since 1977 the institute has monitored fish diseases in the North Sea.

The dab, a flatfish that lives on the seabed of the German Bight, has been found to suffer from hyperplasia, or overgrowth of a part due to excessive multiplication of its cells, to an alarming degree.

Even more alarmingly, this skin disease is generally felt to be a precursor of tumour-like ailments.

Dethlefsen and Westermann claim that dab found due west of the Eldedier peninsula, which is where titanium

oxide waste is dumped, suffer from a much greater incidence of skin diseases than anywhere else in the North Sea.

In this area the incidence of tumours was invariably one or even several per cent, whereas elsewhere it never amounted to more than a fraction of a per cent.

In the sludge dumping area of the Elbe estuary, where Hamburg dumps its sewage waste, dab were not usually found to suffer from an unusually high infection rate.

So sludge does not seem to cause skin tumours among fish. Titanium oxide waste is not their cause either, however, since high frequencies are also reported from areas elsewhere.

Dab are probably prone to skin complaints of this kind in any case and the water and seabed in the areas in question merely accelerate and intensify the course of the ailment.

It seems reasonable to assume that complaints such as these are bound to be more serious among seabed fish such as the dab that are unable to make a quick getaway when titanium oxide waste is dumped.

Findings to date are not yet alarming, but they ought to prompt intensive research into the consequences of titanium oxide waste dumping.

Are dab the only victims or do deposits of industrial waste mark the beginning of a dangerous environmental change?

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

(Frankfurt, 7 May 1980)

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MODERN LIVING

What makes a genius? Experts ponder the possibilities

In his "Emilia Galotti", 18th century German playwright Lessing had the artist Conti ponder whether Raphael would have been the same genius had he been born without hands.

He argued that genius was in the mind and that the hand was but an instrument and that the best was lost en route from the eye via the hand to the paintbrush.

Today, we are rather sceptical about an understanding of talent that centres in cognitive intelligence.

A series of lectures organised by the Siemens Foundation recently dealt with "talent and intelligence".

Frederic Vester, who chaired the discussions, spoke of haptic and motoric intelligence. Genius, he said, could just as well be housed in the hand and manifest itself in actions. In other words, the final product need not always be painting à la Raphael.

Helpfulness, which boils down to a social prowess, is an essential element of intelligent behaviour, to mention but one example.

Theodor Hellbrügge, looking at the problem from a sociologist's vantage point, said that independence in a child can only develop once it has learned to help its juniors. But our school system, he pointed out, prevents social learning and raises lone fighters.

So what is intelligence? Freiburg biologist Bernhard Hassenstein called for a theory of talent that would largely depart from our institutionalised concept of education. Instead of letting himself be pinned down with a definition, he presented "variations on a theme". These variations were intended to replace abstract terminology by depicting typical cases that show the multi-tier nature of the anthropological phenomenon.

But is this rather artistic method not at odds with the demands of exact science?

The very posing of this question shows that we have descended into a morass of intellectualism. The speaker's playful circling around the theme without getting down to brass tacks pursued a very serious and ambitious objective: he wanted to demonstrate that an associative-artistic method does not preclude a strictly scientific approach.

Today's views on talent and intelligence are anything but the last word of scientific wisdom. What Hassenstein wanted was to rehabilitate the decisive part creative forces play in bringing about intelligent behaviour.

It is a prejudice, he said, to seek the source of scientific thinking in rational clarity. Taking a closer look, we see this clarity becoming clouded.

Thus, the thinking process that ultimately led to the theory of relativity was preceded, according to Einstein himself, by a long stage of confusion, unclear assumptions and waiting for the idea that would act as a catalyst.

Outstanding representatives of the world of science confirm its intuitive-creative character. Free association of thoughts and strict logic interact. We no longer need confirmation by authorities to recognise this. The genesis of associative thought can now be studied with computers in model form. Put in a nutshell: talent does not exhaust itself in thought processes taking a mathematical, logical and linguistic course.

Ultimately, this means that today's educational system that came into being as a result of reforms develops only a small part of a child's intelligence at the expense of other essential elements.

Hassenstein's and Vester's criticism of our educational system could not have been more radical. On all its levels, this system gives priority to a behavioural learning theory that makes the student atrophy into an amalgamation of predominantly cognitive learning objectives which, to be realised, are divided up into measurable steps.

Moreover, the intelligence concept of our school system blends two irreconcilable theories of talent: the environment and the heredity theories — a contradiction which, according to Hassenstein, had to lead to the disastrous failure of our educational reforms.

The interplay of hereditary and environment factors differs vastly from the character-environment concept that attempts to express talent mathematically in percentage points of each.

The preceding lecture by the geneticist Friedrich Vogel was extremely critical of the results of measurements as

presented by Jensen and Eysenck. Hassenstein then added an interesting thought. According to him, two components can cooperate in entirely different ways: not only as an addition (according to Eysenck, talent is on average the sum of 80 per cent inherited intelligence and 20 per cent environment) but also as a multiplication.

Seen in this light, talent and environment are entirely dependent on each other. A Raphael without hands would have been no genius even if the hands were understood to be a mere tool for the realisation of his potential talent.

Albert von Schirnding (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 May 1980)

Fingertip information

Each fold of this strip of mini data is 2cm X 4cm: 650 pieces of information can be contained in this key-ring locket device ADAC, the Munich-based motoring club, and the German insurers' association, to help German travellers. Information such as identification, blood group, telephone number of local embassies round the world are listed. The Bonn Foreign Office provided much of the data.

Application of neurology 'in bad state', say doctors

West German neurology is in disarray: this is characterised by the German Society for Neurology which, on the eve of its 75th anniversary, shows signs of "disintegration".

According to an article by Professors H. G. Mertens and O. Hallen in the medical journal *Nervenzentrum*, the Society has seen to it that virtually all German universities teach neurology in hospitals north of the Main River, but neurology has become isolated.

The authors blame this on the fragmentation of neurology.

As a rule, the authors say, neurologists only have a couple of beds at their only instrument is the percussion hammer. In

addition, they have a laboratory for the testing of brain and spinal fluids. A other functions are carried out by special lists.

By the time the neurologists have gathered all his test results the patient is usually long been discharged.

Moreover, most neurological patients are admitted to other special departments ranging from surgery to dermatology. As a result, it could just as well be left to a computer to write the discharge report and draft instructions.

In any event, the disintegration of neurology is gathering momentum along North-South slopes.

Furthermore, neurology has given up all attempts to improve the care of its patients. The activities of neurologists are still concentrated on psychiatric neurology, orientated by internal medicine criteria is at best practised in a few specialised clinics and not in the broad mass of neurologists. There is much room for improvement in diagnostic methods of neurology.

Neurological X-ray diagnosis (distance should be carried out by a radiologist or a neurosurgeon, and, however, any radiologist should make X-ray diagnoses without having been trained for this.

As long as most private psychiatrists believe that psychiatric psychology are not enough to deal with a livelihood and that must practise neurology as a layman cannot be blamed for demands a computer tomography.

The authors lament the fact that

Continued on page 13



EDUCATION

Study condemns 'lack of uniform marking' in primary schools

Marks in primary schools have no objective value whatever, according to a group of educational psychologists in Cologne.

The psychologists, who analysed and compared marking systems in Cologne primary schools, blame the teachers rather than the schools.

They say teachers often have very different marking systems, and point out that in primary schools a class may have



only one teacher for all main subjects and that what they learn will depend almost exclusively on his competence and commitment.

They say that in many cases teachers award marks which are far too high. They point out that this is undoubtedly connected with the fact that "in awarding marks the teacher is to no small extent passing judgement on the quality of his own teaching, his competence in his subject and his commitment."

A random analysis of marks at Cologne primary schools showed that the same decision was awarded a B in one school, a C in another and a D in another.

On the basis of the random test the psychologists conclude that primary school marking is not even uniform in the main subjects.

They ask: how can parents rely on these marks? What value do these marks have in deciding what kind of secondary school to send the child to.

For some years now Cologne educational psychologists have found that children coming to the grammar and technical schools have different levels of

mastery of the material they are expected to know, and that the majority come below the required level.

This meant that in many cases the grammar and technical schools had to cover ground that should have been covered at primary schools.

The psychologists quote a technical school teacher to show how serious things are: "We don't know what we can and should expect the pupils to know. Really we don't expect them to know anything at all and we have to start right at the beginning."

The problem of huge differences in marking systems also exists at grammar schools. "There are great differences between standards from one grammar school to the next. A pupil who is a failure in one might be able to hold his own or even do well at another."

They demonstrate the problem of different marking systems by analysing statistics of pupils repeating classes and leaving Cologne grammar schools.

At one school one out of 100 pupils a year left because of poor results in the first four years; at another, seven in 100

left. The same with pupils repeating classes: in one grammar school two or three out of 100 pupils repeated; in another nine or ten.

The study only speculates on the reasons for these differences. They say that grammar schools competing for pupils in the same catchment area cannot be too selective.

They also found that in all-girls' schools fewer girls repeated classes or left than at all-boys or co-ed schools.

They attribute this to the general experience at schools that "girls have fewer problems and are more conformist in their general and learning behaviour."

The psychologists completely scotch the frequent supposition that there is a connection between high numbers of repeaters and leavers and the size of classes: "It is not true to say that the larger the classes, the more willing the school is for pupils to leave or repeat."

Rather the converse: "The fuller the schools and classes, the lower the selection quotas."

The study criticises the grammar schools for recommending leavers to switch to technical rather than secondary modern schools.

It says grammar schools are not doing pupils a favour here either from a general or educational psychology viewpoint because "pupils who have failed at grammar schools will, with few exceptions, not be able to make the grade at technical schools."

Johann Jui

(Vorwärts, 2 May 1980)

Teachers work too hard - university report

Teachers suffer as much from stress as excavator drivers, according to a study by occupational medicine specialists.

The study, the first ever of the teaching from the occupational medicine point of view, was produced by Munich University Department of Occupational Physiology and commissioned by the Teachers' Union (GEW).

Wolf Müller-Limmroth, head of the department, writes in a summary of the study: "Many recent public discussions of teachers' working hours have shown that there is widespread ignorance of teachers' work loads."

Müller-Limmroth says that in working out how much work teachers do one must take into account not only teaching hours and holidays but also working conditions such as the school timetable, the classrooms, class sizes and the age of pupils.

The main conclusions of the specialists are:

1. Of the teachers covered by the study 83.2 per cent were class teachers; 29 per cent always taught on Saturdays and 25.9 per cent never had to teach on Saturdays.

The rest had either one or two free Saturdays a month; 42.7 per cent volunteered the information that they worked regularly on Sundays. The average age of the poll sample was 35. Most had been teaching for 10 years and more.

2. The scientists worked out working hours as follows: 18 hours 27 mins teaching, 7 hours 5 mins preparation, 5 hours 8 mins correcting and marking, 2 hours 43 mins for staff meetings, 3 hours one minute for Sunday work and 10 hours 53 mins for other activities.

To this was added time spent deputising for absent colleagues, breaks and time spent travelling to staff meetings in the evening or afternoon.

They justified counting breaks "be-

cause the reaction of the heart and blood pressure, according to a study by occupational medicine specialists.

According to the study, teachers work 53 hours 23 minutes per teaching week. 3. Given the long working hours, the considerable physical and mental stresses on teachers were especially important.

Teachers needed to be gifted in many respects, of above average intelligence, responsible, understanding towards pupils.

It was difficult "to explain complex facts simply and without distortion, to conduct and intellectual dialogue with the pupil and to encourage him to learn — to teach, to praise, to warn and to blame."

"The fact that all the teacher's decisions, especially on term marks and transfer to the next class, can even be challenged in court, are a serious psychological stress factor," writes Müller-Limmroth.

The teacher is subject to high stress on his health. One in two teachers was highly susceptible to a heart attack. There was particularly heavy stress on the spinal column, the feet and the circulation. "Bad air" and the need to talk louder "explain the excessive stress on teachers' vocal chords and their greater susceptibility to throat infections."

5. The Munich scientists conclude that the stress on teachers can only be reduced by cutting their daily teaching load "as the changes caused by stress reactions for biological reasons must be compensated for as soon as possible."

Teachers' Union leader Brian Frister said that the study's findings confirmed his demands that teachers' hours would have to be reduced.

Jutta Roitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 May 1980)

Human body is 'capable of self-immunity'

The human body is capable of establishing its own "pharmaceutical factory", scientists say.

A new process is now to force bacteria to produce immunological substances against a wide range of diseases and thus act as a pharmaceutical factory.

Professor Johannes Büttner, chairman of the European Conference on Biochemical and Instrumental Analysis, reported on this progress at the opening ceremony of *Analytica 80*.

The medical fair is combined with a congress expected to be attended by 1,500 scientists from 30 countries.

Immunological substances against viruses (and possibly also cancer cells) which the human body produces in the normal course can now be produced by pharmaceutical companies in adequate quantities, Professor Büttner said.

He pointed to interferon — an immunological substance produced in

human cells — which was hitherto available in minute quantities only, not to mention the cost.

This important medical innovation was made possible by a new analysis process developed by the English researcher and Nobel Prize laureate Professor F. Sanger and the American scientists Professors W. Gilbert and A. M. Maxam, who received special awards at *Analytica 80*.

The succeeded in determining the sequence of nucleic acid which carries genetic information in the cell. The process can now be used in any laboratory.

Microprocessors, Professor Büttner said, have now conquered biochemical analysis inasmuch as more and more of them are now being installed in measuring apparatuses as a means of electronic control. This has led to more accurate results.

Another innovation is the use of dry rather than liquid reagents which are worked into special film (similar to the photographic variety) and attached to the substance to be analysed (blood, for instance).

Two new analysis methods for glucose (as in the case of diabetics), have now been introduced and are expected to be available to the medical profession on a large scale in about two years.

According to the organisers, *Analytica 80* is the largest fair of its kind in the world and is expected to be attended by 20,000.

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 4 May 1980)

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■ MINORITY GROUPS

More local political activity is planned for Berlin's Turks

Mehmet and Farhaddin form part of a group of kids watching a Sunday morning game of football in Kreuzberg, a dilapidated inner city borough in the American sector of Berlin.

The sun is shining on the corner of Wangelsstrasse and Skallitzer Strasse and the boys are giving their local club the usual vocal support.

The game is being played on the pitch of a local high school, some of whose 1,600 students are taught in a freshly tiled former barracks of a guard regiment.

Home side is Südost 1950, Mehmet's club. He wears the club's name on the back of his training suit jacket. Farhaddin doesn't, but he too is a playing member of the club.

The old age pensioner who looks after the club's juniors is a Rhineland who has been in Kreuzberg since 1936. "I'm as fond of the Turkish kids as I am of the Germans," he reckons.

Immediately opposite, behind the pillars of the Underground, which travels overground at this point, is SO 36, the office of a pressure group set up to ensure the survival of Kreuzberg, or that part of it that used to be the SE 36 postal district.

They feel the Senate, or city council of West Berlin, is their adversary (although, in fact, the Senate bankrolls the SO 36 group).

"What we want," says their spokesman, Gerhard Keller, "is to stem the tide of Turks moving into Kreuzberg South-East." He was born here and ran a corner shop nearby until taking over as full-time paid secretary of SO 36 (his salary is paid by the Senate).

"If we allow developments to continue unabated South-East will end up being an entirely Turkish ghetto, and on the quiet that's what a number of politicians would like to see happen," he says.

In two years the number of German residents in the postal district has declined by 9 per cent, according to Keller's figures, while the number of Turks has increased by 10 per cent.

"In Kreuzberg the Turks will soon be worse off than the blacks in Harlem, New York," says Vassil Konia, a Turkish official with DGB, the Trades Union Confederation, in West Berlin.

"They certainly will be unless the vocational training problems young Turks face are solved."

There are about 100,000 Turks in Berlin and 20,000 or so are juveniles. Konia reckons substantially fewer than 1,000 are undergoing any kind of career training.

He says you can count on your fingers the number who will graduate from college and obtain university entrance qualifications.

"The radicalisation of young people is making alarming progress," he says. Adalbertstrasse is a road leading from Kottbusser Tor, a main intersection and Kreuzberg Underground station, to the Berlin Wall. It and Oranienstrasse, which runs at right angles to it, are deepest Turkey in Berlin.

From Kottbusser Tor to the Wall and from Oranienplatz to Heinrichplatz the smell of döner kebab wafts from countless Turkish restaurants.

Through the shop window you can see the cook preparing fried subergines just like he would do in Anatolia. Shopkeepers have their wares displayed in just the same way as they would do in Turkey too.

Plaster is peeling from the walls of tenement blocks to which no repairs have been carried out for decades. The peckmarked walls bear slogans in Turkish.

Turkish slogans are also daubed on the western side of the Wall at the end of the street. Some call for freedom from fascism and proclaim Down With Nazi Terror!

But walls and telephone booths are also repeatedly pasted with the letters MSP or MHP, the initials of Turkey's two main right-wing extremist parties.

A group known as the Grey Wolves claim allegiance to the MSP, or National Salvation Party. They are, says a Berlin Turk who would prefer his name not to be disclosed, "the SA of Khmeini's Turkish supporters."

Support for them is rapidly growing, he reckons. Südost-Express, the newspaper published by the SO 36 group, called for a ban on the Grey Wolves a year ago.

This demand was made when the street fighting between right-wing and left-wing Turks began at the Turkish market on Maybachufer, near Kottbusser Tor.

On Fridays, Turkish housewives, their headscarves pulled well over their faces, converge on the market, pushing prams and accompanied by older children.

Maybachufer used to be a normal Berlin outdoor market, but the weekly market of old now resembles nothing more than an Oriental bazaar.

Rolls of cloth and carpet and gaily coloured knitwear are sold. Turkish men head home with sacks full of onions and potatoes.

"There have long been left-wing and right-wing Turkish shops just as there are left-wing and right-wing bars," says a German woman student who lives in the middle of this largely Turkish district.

The Turks raid each other's premises. One night right-wingers may smash up a left-wing Turkish discotheque. The next it will be the turn of a snack bar where right-wingers congregated.

"We are in for an unpleasant surprise when the next works council elections are held in Berlin next year," says Konia. In various factories 140 Turks are already members of their works councils.



Turks in Berlin: early steps to a better future?

(Photo: SWF)

SPORT

Nerves of steel behind the white ball

Dieter Müller, from Berlin, came third in the 28th European cushion billiard championship at Wedol, a Hamburg suburb.

He was beaten out of the top two positions by two Belgians, Ludo Dielis (who won) and Raymond Ceulemans.

Müller has 28 national, seven European and four world championships. Ceulemans has 36 European and 27 world titles, while Dielis has 10 European and three world.

The game at which they are past and present masters is as easily described as it takes years of hard training to achieve perfection in.

In all billiard games the objective is to make your own white ball ricochet against the red and your opponent's white in succession.

Having scored one point in this way, the player takes another shot.

Continued from page 14

German family after another moved in from the east.

"Turks," says Keller, who claims to be a moderate, "ensure a heavy wear and tear on a housing."

"There'll be no Turks coming into this block," says the caretaker of a newly renovated tenement on Chammisoplatz in Kreuzberg. "Their children ruin everything immediately."

For too long nothing was done in Kreuzberg. Now, at last, housing is being renovated. "We have a wide range of urban renewal schemes," says burgomaster Rudi Pietschker.

The first wave of slum clearance gave rise to impassioned protest, but now blocks are being refurbished building by building and back yard by back yard.

But each yard is full of Turks who are successively slum cleared, but not entirely. The Senate has decided that 10 per cent of council flats are to be earmarked for foreign residents.

"This is the moment of truth," says burgomaster Pietschker, who reckons to be as much a part of Kreuzberg as anyone. He is a former printworker and still believes in integration.

"We are discussing with the Senate how best to put it into practice," he says. Discussions have begun at a time when the Turkish problem in Berlin has assumed alarming proportions.

The new approach to integration is to amount to more than the German-Turk fun fair on Mariannenplatz. Turks are to be offered an active role in communal politics.

Kreuzberg Social Democrats have already endorsed the idea of allowing the Turkish residents both the vote and the right to be elected to the borough council.

The Senate, partly due to considerations for West Germany, is opposed to the idea. The latest idea is for Turks to be associated with local government via borough council committees.

But which Turks? "There is no such thing as a cohesive Turkish national movement," Pietschker says. The various right-wing groups line up against at least one left-wing splinter group.

Integration optimists should try to get their ideas work in practice."

Dieter Tsch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 May 1980)

Continued on page 16

billiard aces go on to make breaks of up to 500, in the most straightforward version of the game.

So greater store is set by playing the cushions. Your white ball has to rebound off the cushion between the opposing white and the red (or vice-versa).

In the Continental game of billiards there are no pockets. Snooker too is unknown.

World class cushion billiard players will score 10 points or more on average per break. So this version of the game is clearly more difficult.

The average break in world championship games is 66.66 points. The longest consecutive break ever recorded was 199 points.

At this level billiards is a top-flight competitive sport. The 11,000-odd playing members of clubs affiliated to the West German Billiards Association are at pains to point out that they have nothing to do with bar billiards.

They still have a chip on their shoulder from being associated with the bawdy, smoke-filled atmosphere of the thousands of bars, especially in the Ruhr, where billiards is a game popularly played over (and for) a round of drinks.

They are not Al Capones strolling into the back room of the bar with their cues, stripped to the waist and with king-sized cigars in the corners of their mouths.

Keen to put paid to these hackneyed clichés, they nowadays try to avoid holding championships in bars; they tend to be held in festival halls and sports arenas.

The school hall was painstakingly prepared by Wedol, the host club, but temperance was very much in evidence for anyone who might have been expecting a blue haze of cigarette smoke and whatever colour one associates with alcohol.

All there was to drink was coffee. Alcohol and tobacco were frowned on. Players were spotlessly dressed, sporting black trousers and waistcoats and white shirts. A boy's choir could hardly have made a more spotless impression.

The 10,500 spectators in Düsseldorf for the tennis Nations Cup witnessed an unusual event, a tournament defeat for the world's top player, Björn Borg.

Seldom has Borg, an ice-cold Swede who usually seems to have everything under control, made so many minor errors as in his Düsseldorf decider against Guillermo Vilas of Argentina.

Seldom has he been known to show such lapses in concentration. He totalled six double faults in one match, including four in one set.

Never before can he have lost seven services to his opponent. It really was a most unusual day.

But one unique record remained unbroken. It was held by Vilas, not by the Swedish superstar. In 1977 Vilas was unbeaten in 50 championship finals, eventually losing to the Nastase of Romania in Aix-en-Provence.

At Düsseldorf he was defending this record against Borg who, had he won, would have equalled the Argentinian's record.

The Wedol club, established in 1961, has become a stronghold of the game in the north, largely due to the hard work it has put into training youngsters. These European championships were the first major event of the kind it had ever hosted.

In comparison with the west, this part of the country is virtually virgin territory as far as billiards is concerned, comprising only 8 clubs.

Billiards is neither a mass sport nor a game watched by large crowds, and although aficionados would not mind a little more popularity they feel very much at home in their world.

They still feel themselves to be part of an extended family, with the godfathers regularly meeting to cross cues.

The same champions face each other so often that opponents become colleagues, rivals friends and familiar faces light up when they see one another.

They retail the small talk of the game and tell each other the tricks of the trade. Dieter Müller has learnt a great deal from Ceulemans, continues to do so and readily admits to the fact.

Billiards is top-flight competitive sport but played in an atmosphere in which you could hear a pin drop. The hushed audience may just snap their fingers in appreciation of a really fine shot, but that is as far as they will go.

As for the players, they stand at the table, lost to the world as they form geometrical patterns in relation to the ball and the cue, working hard noiselessly and on the spot in their search for the ideal angle.

A tournament can be such hard work that they regularly lose several pounds in weight as they stroll round the table, nerves like whiplashes.

The tournament season lasts from September to April, and after 120 days' play Dieter Müller, 37 and a slender, gaunt figure, is happy to call it a day.

Like the others he is an amateur and plays merely for expenses. Like them he has to reconcile the conflicting demands of billiards and the need to earn a living.

He has done so by becoming a restaurateur and owner of a billiards centre in Berlin. His father was a workman in the working class suburb of Neukölln and Müller is conscious of what he owes to the game.

His opponents particularly admire his nerves of steel. Good health is obviously essential; so are good nerves. "You can be nervous alright," he says, "but no-one must notice it."

Unlike, say, a soccer player, billiards aces are not allowed or expected to let off steam. They must swallow their excitement and keep bland or sombre, but at all events straight, poker faces.

"That," says Müller, "is why the game is such a good school for character."

To judge by the care and attention they pay, you might be excused for imagining that raw eggs are like half-bricks in comparison with these highly polished bells of ivory.

At one point the competitors at Wedol grew uneasy and their play erratic. Eventually someone turned out to have unintentionally fiddled with the air conditioning.

The change in temperature meant a change in humidity and more dust on the balls. They made an entirely different sound as they clicked against each other, not to mention hering erratically across the table.

At night, rumour has it, billiards aces store their balls in an air conditioned room so they can recuperate and grow perfectly round once more.

One wit blandly explains during a break that balls are warmed before a game, just like the table itself. "Some players sit on them for a day before the tournament starts. I don't go in for that myself; I pop them in my mouth."

Aloys Bohler

(Die Zeit, 9 May 1980)



Dieter Müller in action

(Photo: Wilfried Witters)

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Aloys Bohler

(Die Zeit, 9 May 1980)

Rare moment in tennis for Düsseldorf

This Swede last lost to Roscoe Tanner of the United States at Flushing Meadows on 6 September 1979. He had since notched up an unbeaten break of 49 finals and was in line for his half-century.

But Vilas was having none of it. He improved his personal tally against Borg to five wins in 17 encounters.

Borg sets little store by "records" of this kind. You can't bank on them. He was as unemotional in defeat as he invariably is in victory.

"True," he conceded with a shrug of the shoulders, "I made more mistakes than usual today. But you can't win 'em all. Some time or other it was bound to happen."

"I felt really tired today. I noticed it before the match. The tough training,

the continual contact with so many people and my doubles games (I don't usually go in for doubles) really took it out of me.

"Besides, Guillermo was in great form today." So he decided to take a well-earned rest before going to Paris for the French Open.

"I want to win as many major titles as possible so that one day people can say of me that I was the greatest player of all time," he explains.

He certainly has time, by all accepted standards, since on 6 June he will only 24. In any case, he has already won just about all there is to win in world tennis.

But Vilas can pride himself on having added a Nations Cup win to his collection. He beat Barazzutti of Italy 6-3, 6-2 to clinch matters.

Fellow-countryman Luis Clero scored a 7-6, 6-3 surprise victory over Adriano Panatta of Italy, so Argentina established a two-nil lead and were sure of overall victory in the Düsseldorf tournament.

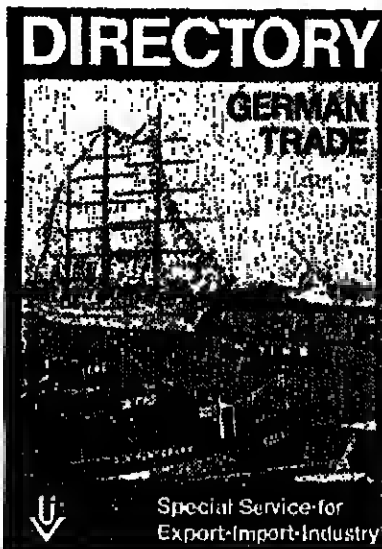
Christoph Emmerich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 May 1980)

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